

CARF

CAMPAIGN AGAINST
RACISM & FASCISM

racism.

the
enemy
within

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CARF is produced by a voluntary, non-politically aligned collective which has been active in the anti-racist, anti-fascist movement for 13 years.

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Comment

Racism and nationalism are never far from the surface in British life. But, as the allies made war in the Gulf, they came to the fore with increasing virulence. Up and down the country - from Batley, Burnley, Newcastle and South Shields to Norwich, Cambridge and Charlton - mosques were vandalised and burned in arson attacks causing £1,000s worth of damage. And it was not just Muslim buildings and institutions which were in the firing line. Children and young people have been attacked on the streets, in schools and colleges, and in places of worship which are not, in fact, Muslim. Even the normally cautious Commission for Racial Equality has been forced to acknowledge the scale of the problem. Below CARF documents some of the worst incidents of racial violence that have reached us. We also examine the anti-Semitic/anti-Arab line of the British National Party.

But racism, was not just confined to the extremities of society. This racism, is part of the British body politic as a whole - sanctioned by the state, and made popular by the media. In CARF No 1, we reported on the new anti-Arab racism sweeping Western Europe. The new racism is no more evident than in the pages of the press, and not just the obviously nationalist *Sun*. Despite the allies attempts to affirm that this was not a holy war of Christendom versus Islam, it has been established as one by the media - all the media from the 'populist' to the 'genteel', from the columns of slick media-star Robert Kilroy Silk to the intellectual posturing of Peregrine Worsthorne. And, in the process, the press have taken us from Norman Tebbit's 'cricket test' to the idea that black (and particularly Muslim) communities in Britain form a fifth coloumn. Muslims have been asked in no uncertain terms to demonstrate exactly where their allegiances lie.

The indiscriminate and random rounding up of Palestinians and Iraqis in Britain, the treatment of civilians as PoWs in breach of the Geneva convention, the conditions in which such prisoners were kept in Pentonville prison and on Salisbury Plain, drew the condemnation of Amnesty International which is considering taking the British government to the European Court of Human Rights. Nor was this new racism confined to Britain. In Germany, special measures were taken against innocent Palestinians and Iraqis who have been instructed to report to the police on a regular basis, prevented from voicing political opinions, and subjected to reduced freedom of movement. In Spain, the Association of Moroccan Workers say that deportations doubled during the course of the war. And in France, the 'Vigiparante' (anti-terrorist campaign) has involved 200,000 police and troops wearing bullet-proof vests and armed with machine-guns - the result widespread identity checks of young Arabs.

But nowhere, as CARF reports, has the surveillance of Palestinian and Arab communities been more systematic than in the USA. Even as we write, anti-racist and anti-imperialist groups in Europe and the USA are forging new links, coming together not only to deal with the new racism but to ensure that the rights of Palestinians are not forgotten.

The war in the Gulf may have been a short one, but it has left a legacy that will need to be fought in the months to come.

The *Sun*: supporting 'Our Boys'

From Day One of the Gulf war, the *Sun* has been the 'Paper that Backs Our Boys', employing every tasteless headline and even more tasteless gimmicks to involve its readers in a mindless outburst of jingoism of the crudest kind, intended to boost circulation.

The day that the US-led air bombardment of Iraq began, the *Sun* turned its front page into a poster of the Union Jack, with the smiling face of a young squaddie at the centre. It urged readers to 'support our boys and put this flag in your window'. And in the days that followed, it hyped up stories about 'true Brits' stopped by 'left-wing fanatics' from 'flying the flag' because it was "jingoistic" to love your country', or in case it 'offended Muslim workers'. A patriotic *Sun* expedition, made up of journalists and Page Three girls, was even sent to liberate Harlow ('the town that shames Britain'), where two council workers had been ordered to take down a Union Jack from their portakabin.

The 'fly-the-flag' gimmickry was followed by a *Sun* Flag Day, set for 7 February, when 5 million stickers of its Union Jack front page were to be distributed free across the country. The 'Support Our Boys with free sticker and stuff lefties' *Sun* Flag Day appears to have been an almost complete flop - even the *Sun* devoted only half a page to it afterwards. Perhaps for this reason, its patriotic professor Norman Stone (modern history, Oxford) thought it might be necessary to 'pass laws to enforce patriotism'.

Women, of course, had a special part to play in supporting Our Boys. When they were not writing in to the *Sun*'s Gulf Lonely Hearts Club, they could sit at home knitting 'willy warmers for the boys' (the *Sun* thoughtfully provided a knitting pattern); or, if in a more active mood, 'flash' their 'knickers for the boys' (and send in the photos).

So much for the sterling qualities of the true Brit and the woman who supports him. What of the enemy? The paper reported a 'threat' from Saddam Hussein that Iraqis will 'torture, kill and even EAT allied pilots who are shot down'. Helpfully, the paper catalogued the types of torture that 'may' and 'will' be used against prisoners-of-war by these 'evil bastards' and 'beasts'.

The *Sun*'s coverage arguably reached the depths with its reporting of the destruction of a packed air raid shelter in Baghdad by the allies on 13 February. Reporter Trevor Kavanagh produced yet another '10 Facts to Damn Saddam' and 'proved' that the shelter was a military command bunker, that the 'victims were sent to their deaths by the Iraqi leader himself' and that Saddam had 'cunningly arranged TV scenes ... to shock and appal'. The paper's Thought for the Day was 'Bunker Bunkum'. This shameful exercise was duplicated throughout the British tabloid press with the exception of the *Daily Mirror*.

What the *Sun* wanted, and what it splashed all over its pages, was bloodshed, the gorier the better. Thousands of casualties and deaths were gleefully reported under headlines like 'The day it rained bombs'; 'We'll bomb till they drop'. 'Hundreds of Iraqis fried in their tanks yesterday' readers were told (31 January).

TO HELL WITH TRAITORS

Inevitably, the *Sun* seized upon the war as an opportunity to mount a patriotic assault upon the Enemy Within. Initially, the targets were the Labour Left and the BBC, but it quickly became clear that throughout Britain many Muslims were unsympathetic to the paper's crude warmongering jingoism. On 18 January, the *Sun* reported that 'True Brits at a factory were ordered to RIP DOWN their *Sun* Union Jacks yesterday - after Muslims complained'. This was followed by a stream of stories where Muslim

workers had objected to the display of the *Sun*'s Union Jack. The paper's 25 January issue, for example, under the headline 'Union Jacks Banned at Tornado Factory', reported how even workers at Lucas Aerospace, making Tornado parts, were banned from displaying the *Sun* Union Jack because it might offend ethnic minorities'. While the paper was careful not to editorialise on this issue, it nevertheless managed to present a carefully contrived and totally false image, day after day, of Britain as a country where Muslims were dictating to decent patriotic white men and women, by preventing them from demonstrating support of 'Our Boys'. The 'real' Britain, where Muslims are daily subjected to routine abuse and attack by white racists and where the war led to an increasing number of such incidents, has no place in that true-blue, true-Brit trash-comic, the *Sun*.

Abridged from an article by John Newsinger in *Race & Class*, April 1991.

Sun-style jingoism leads to this:

X did not want to give name or address - too frightened. Had

- (1) *Sun* front page posted through her flat;
- (2) followed by poison pen letters full of racist abuse;
- (3) eggs thrown at door/windows.

Client does not want to inform police or make any publicity re these incidents. Feels vulnerable. May move to live with family in another area of London for a while. (Reported to Black People Against War in the Gulf Hotline, 4 February.)

Anti-Semite abroad / Anti-Arab at home

What did fascist organisations have to say about the war? CARF draws out the implications for the anti-fascist movement.

The BNP and the NF swung into action during the Gulf war, determined to whip up hatred in a climate where violence could all too easily be blamed on tensions between Muslim Arab and Jewish communities living in Britain. But the two fascist groups were by no means united in their approach.

NF PRO: BNP ANTI

For the NF Flag group, the war was an excuse to indulge in a frenzy of *Sun*-style patriotism, to 'Salute Our Boys'. Its avid support of the 'Glorious War', though, was not without its racial qualifications. Hence, the January issue of *Vanguard* bemoaned the fact that we were fighting for Arabs, for Kuwait.

BNP leader John Tyndall, on the other hand, attempted a more critical approach. A lot of thought obviously went into the cover of February's edition of *Spearhead* where BNP readers are instructed: 'Fight for the Falklands? YES. Fight for Kuwait? NO'.

The war provided Tyndall with an opportunity for a virtuoso display of intellectual pontificating. His anti-war position was qualified to such an extent that the simple-minded might be forgiven for believing that Tyndall is a schizophrenic, advocating support for the war and an anti-war approach at one and the same time. Reading between the lines, however, one gets Tyndall's drift more clearly.

What he is actually saying to his cadres is that, as patriots, they must back British soldiers to the hilt (the 'finest of our race'), but, as fascists, their response to the war has to be, in effect, opportunist - depending on

whether the vantage point is the international context, or the domestic. Internationally, they must allow their response to the war to be dictated by anti-Semitism. Domestically, however, the war should be used as an excuse to push further their anti-black, anti-immigrant message. In other words, a fascist who plays his cards right can be a good anti-Semite and a good anti-Arab at one and the same time.

ANTI-SEMITISM PLUS ANTI-ARAB RACISM

Tyndall is trying to model the BNP more closely on the French Front National, which has also opposed the war and with some success. Interviewed in *British Nationalist*, Tyndall quotes Le Pen as saying: 'Europeans should leave the Middle East to the Moslems and Arabs, whilst the Moslems and Arabs should leave Europe to the Europeans'.

In fact, the popularity of Le Pen rests on his exploitation of the deep vein of anti-Semitism ingrained in French society, whilst at the same time campaigning on a vicious anti-immigrant platform, advocating forced repatriation, and crying out against the so-called 'Islamification of France'. Domestically, this anti-Arabism forms the bedrock of grass-roots FN activity and it is the North African Arab community which has borne the brunt of racial violence in France.

However, in the international arena, the FN puts its anti-Semitism first. Israel, but Israel as the Jewish homeland and not Israel as the gun pointed at the heart of the Middle East, is its primary enemy. And, in that, it will give its (dubious) support to Israel's Arab opponents.

Hence, February's issue of *Spearhead* contains a discussion of the 'Arab world and Islam' which betrays a

sneaking regard for Saddam Hussein. He may be an Arab, but is he an Arab with fascist tendencies? Saddam is a military man, a general, inspiring devotion amongst his people. Would that such manly men were still in power in the West. Instead, Western civilisation has declined, corrupted by Jewish finance to the point of decadence, argues Wulstun Tedder. 'Islam', on the other hand, is the 'main bastion of any real consequence against international Zionist power'.

For the fascists, Israel is the very embodiment of the ascendancy of the world Jewish conspiracy, living proof that Jews as a race are winning their battle to take over the world through controlling its finance. According to twisted fascist logic, the West has been morally weakened by the corrupting financial power of the Jewish race, whilst a resurgent Islam has certain rejuvenative powers because, according to the BNP, it forbids the practice of usury. And usury, as we all know, is a genetic Jewish trait, not an old-fashioned term for basic financing practice.

The presence of Arabs in the West, however, is another matter entirely. Their primitive uncorruption by all things Jewish is all very well - fine in the right time and place, but when they are transplanted into the higher reaches of white civilisation, then they too become a stain, a source of corruption. Of course, there is the evidence to hand. 'Gulf war: Moslem threat: revealed the inevitable conflict of loyalties in a multi-racial society', reads the headline in *British Nationalist*. What is the nation coming to when firms order workers to take down Union Jacks for fear of offending immigrants? And a new BNP leaflet, delivered door-to-door in Ilford, warns of the 'holy war' on behalf of Islam about to be waged on British shores - the only answer is to 'Repatriate NOW to make Britain safe'.

ANTI-MUSLIM AND ANTI-SEMITIC ATTACKS

In fact, Tyndall's attempt to concoct a logical argument that will let the BNP have it both ways is translated at the rank and file level into indiscriminate targeting of Jews and blacks, all the more easy since it accords with their

Racial violence

gut prejudices. Thus, whereas popular racism as a result of the war has been directed at Britain's black communities, fascist attacks are taking place against black and Jewish targets.

The Jewish community in Hackney, east London, has been particularly badly hit. Swastikas have been painted on the shop windows of the Marcus Hearn insurance group in Shoreditch High Street and a 'Jews Out' slogan daubed on the windows of some flats in Upper Clapton. Stones were thrown through the window of an Orthodox Jewish family's home in Stamford Hill and the words 'Jews Out' and a swastika daubed on the walls outside. Another theme of *Spearhead* is the 'barbaric and alien practice of ritual slaughter'. Hence an attack on a Tottenham kosher food supplier could be the BNP's doing.

Further evidence of the BNP's dual anti-Semitic/anti-Arab approach is provided by the fact that, in some parts of London, BNP stickers went up saying 'No Muslim wars on British shores'; in other parts, they read 'No Jewish wars on British shores'. And the fact that the Star of David was found carved into the door of the Whitechapel mosque, after a recent attack, could signal that groups like the BNP are attempting to provoke antagonism between the Jewish and black communities.

The BNP's joint anti-Semitic/anti-Arab approach makes it even more imperative that anti-fascists distinguish between the virulent anti-Semitism of the fascists, based on neo-nazism and a belief in the world Zionist conspiracy (ie, hatred of Jews as a race), the anti-Zionist position of the left, based on anti-imperialism (ie, opposition to Zionism as a reactionary and oppressive political system) and the pro-Palestinian position of Britain's black communities engendered by a deep identification with the Palestinian struggle against Zionism, which is seen as a fight against a modern form of colonialism. To fail to make such distinctions, to malign a legitimate anti-Zionism by equating it with Nazism, would be to divide our ranks at a time when the BNP is showing signs of getting its die-hard nazi act back on the road.

This is a list of some of the most serious Gulf-related attacks that were reported in the press or to CARF during the war. It is by no means definitive.

JANUARY

Burning rag thrown through the window of a mosque in Chorley, Lancs (*Sun* 15.1.91).

Petrol poured through the roof vent of Medina Majid Mosque, Batley, causing £4,000 damage (*Times* 17.1.91).

Iraqi Community Association in Hackney, east London, bombarded with threatening letters and abusive phone calls since the war began. The group is sent an 'official' Iraqi calender with all the pages ripped out since 15 January and threatened with retaliation if any British soldiers get killed (*Hackney Gazette* 18.1.91).

White youths attack 2 Somali women in headscarves in the centre of Sheffield. The women are told to go back to Ethiopia. Other Arab women in different parts of the country also approached in the streets

and told not to wear the hijab (report to CARF 19.1.91).

Two 17-year-old Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets shot at by a white man with an air rifle (report to CARF 22.1.91).

Yemeni Community Bus, carrying school-children, stoned in Sheffield. The Yemeni community reports many violent attacks (*Observer* 26.1.91).

Petrol poured over the door of a Woking mosque and set alight. Several cars in the area daubed with anti-Iraqi graffiti (*Guardian* 23.1.91).

Attempted fire attack on mosque in Norwich (report to CARF 23.1.91).

Arson attack on Hasmonian Boys School, Hendon. Birmingham city central synagogue attacked and a car set on fire.

Jewish cemetery in Portsmouth broken into and gravestones daubed with SS insignia. (*Jewish Chronicle* 23.1.91).

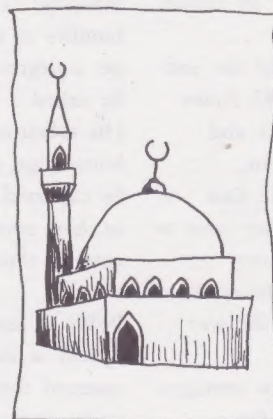
Slogans such as 'Death to Niggers' and

'Kill Iraqis' left scattered in the room of Bernie Grant MP after his office in Tottenham, north London, is ransacked (*Caribbean Times* 29.1.91).

The Saddam Hussein Mosque, Birmingham, given extra police protection after repeated threats since last August (*Eastern Eye* 29.1.91).

Arson attacks on cars in Asian area of Heckmondwike, Yorkshire. A Batley schoolboy has his nose broken after an attack by four white youths (*Asian Times* 29.1.91).

Asian shops in Fyfe, Scotland, attacked. In Edinburgh six white youths attack an Asian chef as he leaves an Indian restaurant (report to CARF 30.1.91).



FEBRUARY

The Thief of Baghdad restaurant, Bolton, repeatedly threatened (*GLARE Report February*). NF literature threatening to burn down mosques unless Muslims publicly condemn Saddam Hussein sent to the Canning Town Community Centre, the Sunni Razvi Jamia mosque and the Islamic Centre, all in Newham, east London

(*Newham Recorder* 7.2.91).

BNP literature sent to a synagogue in Ilford (report to CARF 9.2.91).

A letter bomb sent to 'Jewish Care', a welfare organisation in north-west London (*Jewish Chronicle* 15.2.91).

All the windows of a Sikh temple in Gravesend smashed. Threatening letters also sent to Asians (report to CARF 15.2.91).

Windows smashed at the Ram Garhia Gurdwara, Fenton, Stoke-on-Trent. Missile, wrapped in paper which contained the message 'For the lads in the Gulf', thrown through the window (*Eastern Eye* 19.2.91).

Windows broken during an attack on the east London mosque, Whitechapel (*Asian Times* 19.2.91).

An attack on a mosque in Charlton, south-east London causes £5,000 damage (GACARA 21.2.91).

Deportations: 'the enemy within'

In the wake of the Gulf war, many of those detained as prisoners-of-war by the Home Office and now released have indicated their intention to claim damages for their detention, which was condemned by Amnesty International, among others, as a violation of international law.

The round-up of 'Arab terrorist' suspects from September 1990 on, which intensified as war loomed, appeared to be motivated not so much by a genuine belief in the danger posed by those chosen for detention, but by a need to appear to be doing something in the charged atmosphere in which all Arabs were suspect. The operation was characterised by racism and incompetence.

Between September 1990 and the end of January 1991, at least 182 Arabs were detained - mostly Iraqis and Palestinians, but also Yemenis, Jordanians and other Middle East nationals. They were told they were to be expelled on national security grounds. By the end of February, 84 of them had been deported to the war zone.

During the same period, new immigration rules were rushed into force which decreed that no Iraqis except permanent residents could enter Britain, and those here temporarily would not get residence permits renewed and, meanwhile, must register with the police.

In the only country to have PoWs outside the Middle East war zone, on the day after the ceasefire on 25 February, 32 people, mainly Iraqi postgraduate students, were being held as PoWs at Rolleston army camp in Wiltshire. At least another 33 people were being held in prison awaiting deportation under immigration laws 'as not conducive to the public good on grounds of national security'. Within a couple of weeks of the ceasefire all were released - but some still have the threat of deportation hanging over them.

As campaigns around the detentions

brought the cases into the open, it emerged that the Home Office had acted blindly on the word of the security services, whose information on the suspects had been inaccurate, or - as in two documented cases - had simply picked up men with the same surname as a suspect. One man was asked, during questioning, why he had joined a particular organisation; he had never been a member. Another was detained for student activities he had taken part in 17 years earlier. One Iraqi student, released from the PoW camp after he had proved that the authorities had the wrong man, said that most of the other PoWs were innocent: 'They came here with their families to study, to work hard and get a degree. They could never, never be called a threat to national security.' His solicitor added: 'To the best of my knowledge, these are the first PoWs to be captured at their home addresses or in their university libraries in a country thousands of miles from the war.'

PoWs at least had the right to a proper appeal at the military panel which assessed their cases. 'Civilians' held under immigration legislation had no right of appeal at all. A panel of security advisers - the so-called 'three wise men' - assessed the cases of those who were lucky enough to know, or be advised, of their right to challenge the Home Office decision. The hearings were in secret, without detainees knowing the charges against them and without legal representation. But such was the publicity surrounding the detentions that, by the beginning of March, the panel's non-binding recommendation to the Home Office had led to the quashing of 19 out of 32 deportation decisions. For one man, Abbas Shibliak, a Palestinian who had lived in Britain for 17 years, and an advocate of peaceful Arab-Israeli dialogue as well as a campaigner against Iraqi human rights abuses, the fight to win back his freedom cost him over £11,000 in

legal fees. But many detained Iraqis did not have the choice to speak out and clear their names, for fear of reprisals against their families in Iraq. All Iraqis and Palestinians have had to live for the past six months under the threat of being detained as potential 'terrorists', as 'the enemy within'. For many, there has been the additional fear of where they might be deported to. A Palestinian student at Leicester university said: 'Either they dump me in Lebanon or give me back to the Israelis, and both are bad options.' Arab students will continue to live under the threat of deportation even now the war is over. With all the disruption, their funds cannot get through to them, they cannot pay their fees and so will no longer have the right to be here.

The Palestinian student commented: 'Even students here think all Palestinians are terrorists.' With the Home Office setting the example, it's hardly surprising.

Are you now or have you ever been ...

What is your political involvement in this country with Palestine?
What is your solution on the Palestine question?
Which solution do you favour?
Have you expressed views on the Gulf crisis?
Did you say you were against anyone who opposed Iraq?
Did you say you would kill Americans or Westerners?
Have you been expressing views about the situation in Kuwait with anyone?
What have you talked about with your wife?

The voice of the KGB? The FBI? The Mukhabarat? The Shin Bet? No - these are just some of the questions our learned Three Wise Men asked of the Arab detainees the Home Office wanted to deport earlier this year.

Black People Against War in the Gulf

Whilst much of the official anti-war movement in Britain was locked into ideological debates over this line or that, many black organisations came together with a unity of purpose over both domestic and international issues thrown up by US intervention in the Middle East.

On 5 February, 'Black People Against War in the Gulf' was launched - initiated by a black delegation which had visited Palestine in 1990. It set up a 24-hour help-line for those experiencing Gulf-related racial violence and worked closely with the National Union of Students to aid Palestinian and Iraqi students threatened with deportation. A picket of the Home Office on 20 February to protest at the detentions was violently broken up by the police who charged into the picket, clearing the streets. (11 arrests were made for minor public order offences).

Over 300 people packed into a small dining hall in Camden town hall to mark the creation of a committee of broadly based organisations known as 'Black People Against War in the Gulf.' The crowd, which was overwhelmingly black, gathered not only to hear the five scheduled speakers, but to thrash out the aims, objectives, and plan of action of the newly formed committee.

Initially, there were mutterings of anger and confusion as people reacted to news that Camden council had refused at the last minute to allow the meeting to gather in the Council Chamber on grounds of security. Hence, a majority of the crowd stood, crammed uncomfortably into the dining hall for over three hours, to listen to the speeches and take part in the consequent discussion. Despite disagreements between black members of Left organisations, the overall feeling of the meeting was that a surprising unity had emerged among black groups in Britain with regards to the Gulf war.

The five speakers at the meeting told of their individual perceptions of the conflict, but each of them linked the

Palestinian problem to the Gulf war. Speaking as a representative of the Iraqi Democratic Party, Sabah Jawad predicted that the Gulf war would create a US occupation of the Middle East for many years to come. His main fear, he said, was that Israel would move Palestinians into Jordan, causing a regional conflict between Arab nations. Former Palestinian political prisoner, Ali Jeddah, described the media's distortion of the plight of the Palestinians, its bias towards Israel, and how it is imperative for those living in the West to insist upon the linkage of the Palestinian problem to the Gulf war. Similarly, Reem Abdelhadi, a Palestinian representative from the Committee Against War in the Gulf, said that media imperialism and cultural imperialism were working hand in hand to dictate situations and decide for us what the Gulf war was being fought over.

MP Bernie Grant related the observations he made as part of a recent delegation of black Labour MPs to Iraq and Saudi Arabia. He believed that Iraq was duped by the US and led into the war by America, which wants to guarantee Israel's military

hegemony over the Middle East. Grant urged the crowd not to remain silent over the issue, as was the case with America's invasion and intervention in Panama, Grenada, and Nicaragua. He said that 'Black People Against War in the Gulf' should become a commanding and decisive force in the Committee Against War in the Gulf and bring Palestine back into the war debate. *Race & Class* editor A. Sivanandan said that black people needed to change the terms of debate in which the war was being discussed. Black people were not so much concerned as to whether or not Saddam Hussein was a fascist or George Bush was or was not an imperialist. 'Black dictatorship and white imperialism are two sides of the same coin. Our business is to get rid of both', he explained. What was of primary importance to black and Third World people was the new imperium being set up in the post cold-war climate. He saw the war as a rite of passage to a new world order. Many of the tasks that Black People Against War in the Gulf set itself are now no longer necessary because the war is over. But the fact that black people could, in the 1990s, at a time when the rest of the Left looked pretty much at sea, come together on a Third World issue to produce a politics which was both anti-racist and anti-imperialist was significant. As one black veteran told CARF after the meeting: 'I have never seen so many black people of all ages and from all walks of life and all nationalities converge on an international issue since the Vietnam war. And never has there been such a show of solidarity for the people of Palestine from black Britain.'

For more information contact

Black People against War in the Gulf,
PO Box 273, Forest Gate,
London E7 8NW.

France: Anti-Arab racism

Just before the outbreak of the Gulf war, everyday acts of racism increased, particularly in the South of France and on the island of Corsica. Anti-racist organisations received reports of increased sales of guns in the Bouches du Rhone and several incidents took place in which shots were fired at Muslim homes and places of worship in Montpellier, Margigues and Corsica. In Beziers, an Algerian youth was knifed in the abdomen by a gang shouting 'Down with Saddam Hussein'. In Nice, a hostel for immigrant workers received threats.

Tension and harassment in Corsica was so bad that more than 1,000 of the 16,000 North Africans working and living on the island left before the end of the first week of the war (*Le Monde* 22.1.91), and many others from the South of France departed, leaving a labour shortage. An IFOP opinion poll of Muslims showed that 58% were concerned about their future in France.

In many cities, pupils were afraid to go to school and immigrant associations met to discuss precautions. Several mosques were attacked with petrol bombs. There was also an alarming increase in serious attacks on Jewish targets. Muslims reported feeling as though they were on trial, having to prove their loyalty to French neighbours and work colleagues. The media were full of speculation about the views of 'immigrants' on the war. Suspicion was reinforced by widespread identity checks in the streets, metro and public places. Peace demonstrations were banned. Some immigrant associations were raided and at least one rai (Algerian popular music) concert banned.

'IMMIGRANT' PERSPECTIVES

Opinions about the war among 'immigrant' associations varied, but

most agreed on two issues: concern about the danger of an increase in racism and support for the people at the receiving end of injustice, notably the Palestinians.

IMPLICATIONS

A very serious development has been a split in part of the anti-racist and immigrant youth movements - between groups which identify closely with French society and do not wish to oppose the Socialist government (France Plus), and the slightly more critical position of SOS-Racisme. There is also a split between these organisations and Jewish organisations; they have never reconciled their differences over Palestine.

At the outbreak of war, SOS-Racisme took up an anti-war stance, taking part in a banned demonstration organised by a broad front including MRAP (Movement Against Racism), the Communist Party, the Greens and the 'Appel des 75' (an intellectual protest group). This precipitated the resignation of several of the most powerful members of SOS-Racisme's 'Committee of Honour': Pierre Berge (director of Yves Saint Laurent and of the Bastille Opera, one of its most important funders since last year's split from the Socialists), the writer Bernard Henry-Levy and the editor of *Globe*, Georges-Marc Benhamon. The departures signified a loss of intellectual support.

This does not mean that SOS-Racisme has moved to the left, but rather that it has extended its recent criticism of French 'integration' policy - as strong on racism and weak on practical measures - into a critique of foreign policy aims. However, the simultaneous break with the Union of Jewish Students of France (UJEF) may have even more serious implications. It may mean that the space for Arab-Jewish dialogue has been lost.

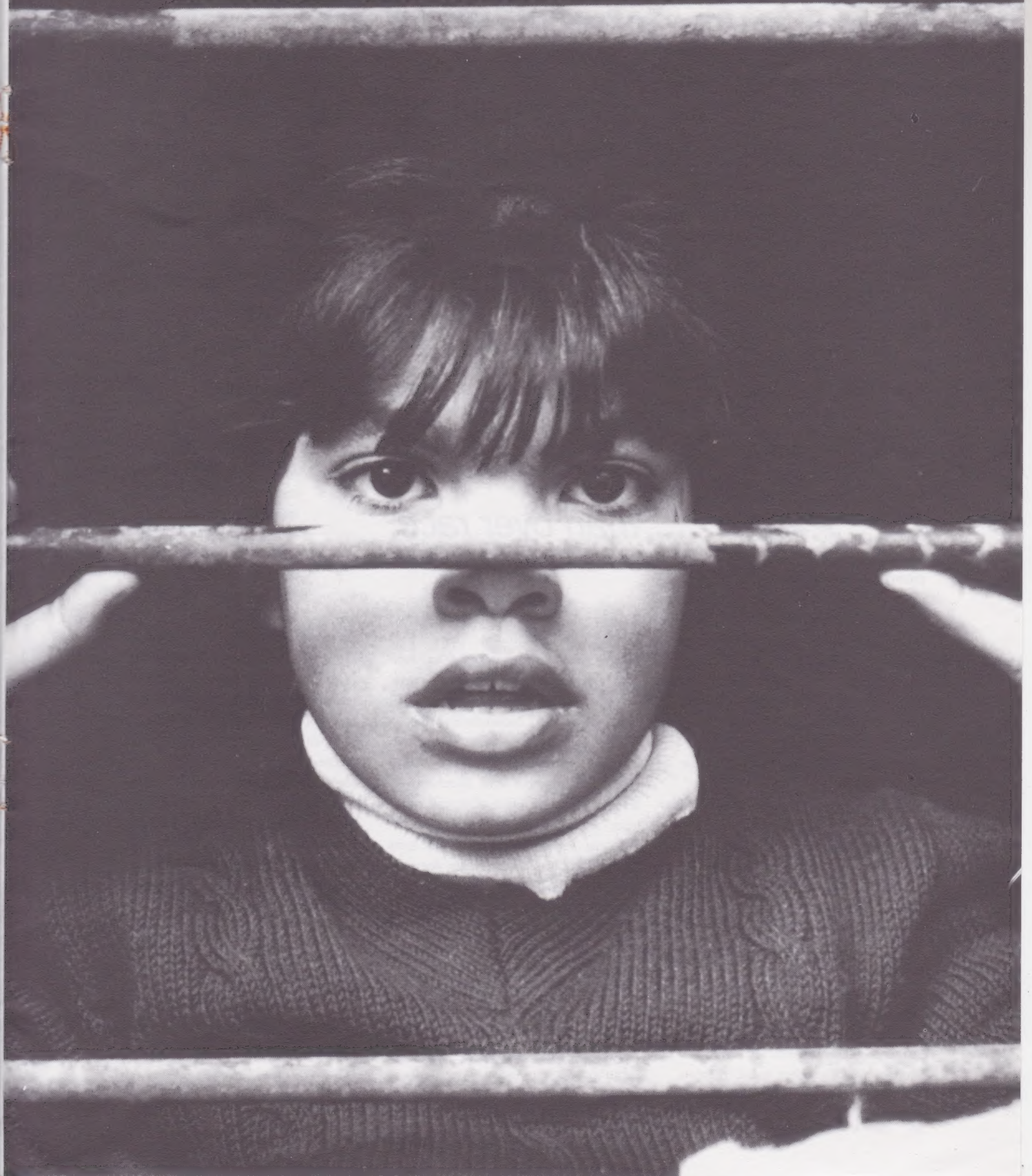
US: FBI trawl

In early January, the FBI interviewed more than 200 Arab-American business and community leaders and an unknown number of other residents who are not citizens. The FBI also questioned employers about their employees of Arab background, and landlords about their Arab-American tenants.

Many anti-war groups reported suspicious break-ins, an increase in telephone death threats and signs that they were under surveillance. Some of the Arab-Americans who were targeted by the FBI had worked with these groups.

There were also reports that a detention camp had been prepared for dissidents of 'Arab descent' in Oakdale, Louisiana, with the spillover to be confined somewhere in Florida. The Oakdale facility was described in 'Alien terrorists and undesirables: a contingency plan', prepared in May 1986 by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (INS). The report also contained a list of numbers of foreign nationals from Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Iran, Jordan, Syria, Morocco and Lebanon - Iraq (which the US at the time was supporting in its war against Iran, although simultaneously selling weapons to Iran) did not make the list. The INS report had been leaked to the defence team appearing for the 'Los Angeles 8', a group of seven Palestinians and one Kenyan who had been arrested in 1987 and charged with membership of a terrorist cell for handing out pro-Palestinian leaflets on the street. Having lost its 'terrorism' case against the LA 8, when a federal judge declared their leafletting activities a form of expression protected by the Constitution, the US government continued to try to deport several of them for minor violations of their student visas. Late in 1990, Congress made it easier for such deportations to take place by passing an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act which defines the PLO as a terrorist organisation, and gives government the power to exclude or deport any foreign national associated with it. The Act also allows the deportation of anyone 'whose presence or activities in the United States the Secretary of State has reasonable ground to believe would have potentially serious adverse foreign policy consequences for the United States'. On 1 March, a case was brought against Pan American World Airways for discriminating against Arab-Americans and forcibly removing one US citizen from a flight.

PALESTINE From 16 January, 1.7 million Palestinians of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and parts of Jerusalem were under 24-hour curfew - virtually under house arrest. Prohibited from working, from harvesting or watering or marketing crops, many families have been brought close to starvation. Thousands of Palestinians who previously worked in Israel have now been issued with the prohibitive 'Green Cards'. They have been replaced by the new Soviet immigrants. Photo: Jenny Matthews



Major split on the Right

You could practically hear the Conservative Party's radical right-wing wince when John Major, standing outside 10 Downing Street, made his first speech as prime minister. Although the Right's favoured candidate, his pledge to restore Conservative Party unity, and to adopt a 'more caring' approach to government, was a kick in the teeth for Thatcherite supporters. Their worst fears were immediately confirmed with the promotion of the 'wet' William Waldegrave, the resignation of Cecil Parkinson and the sacking of the hang-em-n-flog-em Home Secretary, David Waddington, known unaffectionately as 'The Thug' by his civil servants. Now the Gulf war is over, and the Party manifesto is being put together, right-wing grumblings about the new Tory leader are becoming more public. A number of journalists are reporting unease with Waldegrave's apparent 'soft-pedaling' on NHS reforms and the more conciliatory line towards Europe. The arguments surrounding John Taylor's selection as a Tory candidate for Cheltenham have also ensured that, in private at least, Major's attitude to race is also being questioned by the radical Right.

In Major's favour, however, is the fact that, since the mid-'80s, there has been a growing rift between the two main radical factions in the Party. On the one hand, there is the 'libertarian' Right, epitomised by David Hart and his Committee for a Free Britain and Marc Gordon at the International Freedom Foundation, but also including most of the 'Thatcherite' think-tanks, like the Adam Smith Institute, the Institute of Economic Affairs and the Centre for Policy Studies. On the other hand, there is

the authoritarian or, more accurately, nationalist Right - led by the Monday Club and Western Goals. While there are the unmistakable signs of a growing radical Conservative opposition to Major, there is as yet no sign that these two main radical factions are going to re-unite against him.

*Nowhere is the
difference between
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more marked
than over race.*

Nowhere is the difference between the two factions more marked than over race. Off the record, the libertarians accuse the nationalists of being racists and neo-fascists. Nevertheless, the libertarians themselves are far from immune to criticism over their own bigoted, belligerent and ill-informed attitude towards what they call the 'race relations industry'.

Since its formation in 1985, Western Goals (UK) has been a main focus for Tory nationalists/racists, and has become a growing force in the international ultra-Right.

Since at least 1988, it has been the main Western European component of the World Anti-Communist League, which has a long history of fascist sympathies, and has been acting as unofficial British ambassador for the Republicaners in Germany, run by

former Waffen SS officer Franz Schonhuber, for Le Pen's National Front in France and for the white supremacist South African Conservative Party. Run by Andrew V.R. Smith and Stuart Northolt (two former leading FCS/Young Monday Club members), an increasingly important

Goalie has been Gregory Lauder-Frost. Last year, as secretary of the Monday Club's Foreign Affairs committee, he was responsible for bringing together people like the historian of the extreme right David Irving and SACP Foreign Affairs spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis (now a vice-president of Western Goals). In the recent Monday Club elections, Lauder-Frost and his nationalist faction seized control of the Club, with the result that a number of important Thatcherite/libertarian members (like MPs Julian Amery and George Gardiner) have left. Despite the resignations, which have only consolidated

the nationalists' grip on the Club, Western Goals' takeover of the largest Conservative Party pressure group has serious implications for the development of racist and nationalist politics in Britain.

There have been reliable reports of strengthening links between the Goalies and overtly fascist groups like the League of St George and British National Party, and if Major cannot, or will not, act to rid the Tory Party of anti-Semitic and white supremacist militants, a long held British fascist ambition will have been realised. They will have secured a platform for overt racism and fascism in 'respectable' British politics. But it will also help, through the international network in which Western Goals is a key component, to reinforce the voice of euro-fascists in European politics.

Racist Murder in Thamesmead

A vigorous campaign, spearheaded by the Greenwich Action Committee Against Racist Attacks (GACARA), has been launched following the brutal murder of an Afro-Caribbean teenager, Roland Adams, in Thamesmead, south London, in February.

In the early hours of Friday 22 February, 15-year-old Roland was killed by a racist gang as he left the Hawksmoor youth club, Thamesmead. Roland and his younger brother Nathan were on their way home when they were attacked by a group of about 12 white youth. Roland was stabbed with a knife in the jugular. Nathan managed to escape. Since the attack, a 19-year-old youth has been charged with murder and

seven others (including five juveniles) with violent disorder. Despite initial prevarication, the police admit that the killing was racially motivated. But the arrests have not stopped the violence. Shortly afterwards, the Hawksmoor youth club, that has been the target for racists in the past, had petrol bombs thrown at it; they failed to ignite. Furniture outside the home of a family connected to the Hawksmoor was set on fire.

GACARA believes that the murder is linked to increased BNP activity in the area. When the white youths arrested in connection with Roland's murder appeared in court, the court was covered with BNP stickers.

More information from Dev Barrah, 081-855-4343.



CAMPAIGNS & REPORTS

Deaths in custody

Two coroner's inquests in the first week of March showed up yet again the disregard for black life in the custodial system.

At Westminster Coroner's Court on 7 March, the jury decided that Delroy McKnight, 29, killed himself in Wandsworth prison on 19 January while the balance of his mind was disturbed and that the cause of his death was contributed to by lack of care. Debbie Coles of Inquest told CARF that this 'was one of the most damning inquest verdicts'.

Delroy bled to death, in the presence of a cell-mate, after he had cut his throat on a piece of glass he had obtained by smashing the cell window. According to his cell-mate, it took prison officers 15 minutes to reach the cell after he had raised the alarm.

Delroy had been diagnosed as an acute paranoid schizophrenic, considered to be a suicide risk and in need of psychiatric assessment, according to

Dr Bakshi from High Point prison. That was the reason he had wanted him moved to Wandsworth in December 1990, he said. But that information was never conveyed to Wandsworth. Delroy was not treated as a suicide risk, he was not on a special watch and no one appeared to notice when he stopped eating, washing and taking his medication. The young man ended his days reading and re-reading the Old and New Testaments without moving from his bunk.

A moment of farce entered the court room as the coroner, looking at Delroy's medical records, asked in bewilderment if the admissions doctor at Wandsworth could spell out for him this disease, abbreviated to acute psy, which Delroy had been suffering from.

Delroy's death might have been prevented had the prison windows been of perspex and not glass and had he received the proper care and

attention due to a sick man. Kimpua Nsimba, a Zairean, might also be alive today had he been given an interpreter and basic human attention when he arrived last June at Heathrow airport claiming political asylum. His ID looked as if it had been tampered with. No one found him a Lingala-speaking interpreter. He was taken to Harmondsworth Detention Centre where no one appears to have conversed with him for four days. Group 4, the private security firm which runs the centre, began to look for him when he did not have supper on 15 June. He could not be found. A cleaner found him hanging from a pipe in a locked toilet at 4.50pm the following day.

We will never know what was going through his mind in those last days and hours; we'll never know exactly what he was fleeing from. For the immigration service, for the Refugee Arrivals Project, and for the police who had to investigate the death, he was just another of those immigrants who did not deserve to be here. This was the first recorded suicide in Harmondsworth. One death is a death too many.

Leeds fans unite

One football club where racism and National Front activity have been a problem is Leeds United. During the mid-80s a number of top black players, including Andy Gray and Garth Crooks, said that they experienced the worst racism of their careers at Leeds' Elland Road ground. Racist chanting, banana throwing and siege heiling by large groups of young fans became commonplace, as did paper sales by groups of fascists on match days. (Because of this, few black fans attended games.) All this, despite the fact that Leeds is a multiracial city and Leeds United was one of the first English clubs to have a black player (South African born Albert Johanneson in the 1960s).

As a group of ordinary Leeds United fans, we decided that we could no longer allow this to continue. For the past four seasons, we have been campaigning as 'Leeds Fans United Against Racism and Fascism'. On a number of match days in the 1987/8 season, we distributed leaflets exposing the influence of the fascists, and

raising our concern about the unacceptable nature of racist behaviour. Initially, the club and the police were hostile because they claimed we were introducing politics into the game. A clear majority of fans, however, were sickened by the racism and reacted positively to our campaign. When we provided the football club with clear evidence of the NF's activities in a report entitled 'Terror on Our Terraces', the press gave it coverage. After that, the club and the police took much firmer action against racists. We believe that we have been succeeding where other groups like the Anti-Nazi League failed because our campaign is based around football - for fans, by fans. For the past three seasons, we have produced an anti-racist football fanzine called *Marching Altogether* which we distribute free to fans on match days. We use football-based humour and debate to make racist chanting and behaviour at the ground unacceptable. Our success can be judged by the fact that over the past few seasons there have been very

few outbreaks of racist behaviour, and the sporadic NF attempts at paper-sales are treated with contempt and derision by most fans. Compared to other big clubs, such as Newcastle and Everton, Leeds United is now a reasonable and tolerant place to watch football.

However, we would never claim that we've 'solved' the problem of racist behaviour - our campaign has coincided with Leeds United's successful promotion to Division One and with outstanding performances by a number of black Leeds players, such as Chris Fairclough, whom Leeds supporters last year voted 'Player of the Year'. If Leeds were ever relegated again, then fans' frustration might turn to racism. So we have a long-term job of work to do to encourage more tolerant behaviour, particularly amongst younger fans.

What we have succeeded in doing is to show ordinary fans of other clubs that racist behaviour can be successfully combated by fans themselves.

The 1988 report 'Terror on our terraces' costs £2.50; a complete set of *Marching Altogether* fanzines (Nos. 1-10) costs £3 inc. p+p; a subscription for the next 12 months costs £3. All from Leeds Fans United Against Racism and Fascism, c/o Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Chapeltown, Leeds 7.

Dewsbury



Last January, 16 young Asians were sentenced for their part in a series of 'violent disorders' in Dewsbury in June 1989 following a BNP rally. During the trial, evidence illustrating the surveillance now being devoted to anti-fascist mobilisations emerged. A

helicopter was in the sky from 10am videoing crowd movements. (It came down for re-fuelling five minutes before the trouble started and missed the crucial half-hour's events.) Two ground video teams and half a dozen teams of police photographers

produced, between them, 6 hours of video and 1,000 photographs. Five police evidence-gatherers taped running commentaries, describing Asian 'activists' and their white supporters, identifying those who had been on previous marches and, in some cases, getting their names and addresses from the police computer via car registrations. 750 officers, on foot, horseback and in vans equipped with full riot gear, were massed in strategic points around the town. Over 30 Asians and white anti-fascists were arrested. Afterwards, dawn raids were made and other Asian youths arrested on the basis of video and photographic evidence. In all, 82 Asians and anti-fascists were arrested. Of the 200 or so fascists who gathered for the rally and ran amok in the town afterwards, only a few were arrested.

Mangrove: down but not out

The Mangrove Trial is over with Five acquitted and Four on suspended sentences



ANTHONY CARLYLE INNESS
Acquitted of Riot, Affray, GBH, possessing an offensive weapon. Guilty of causing actual bodily harm. Sentence: nine months suspended for two years.



RHODAN GORDON
Acquitted of Riot. Guilty of Affray. Sentence: fifteen months suspended for two years.



ALTHEA JONES-LECOINTE
Acquitted of Riot, Causing Actual Bodily Harm, Possessing an Offensive Weapon. Guilty of Affray, Causing Actual Bodily Harm. Sentence: 15 months suspended for 2 years.



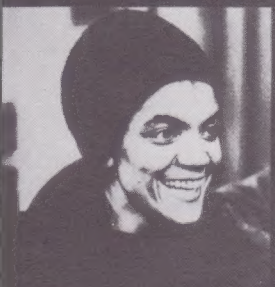
FRANK CRITCHLOW
Acquitted of riot, affray, possessing an offensive weapon.



RUPERT GLASGOW BOYCE
Acquitted of Riot, Affray, GBH, Guilty of Causing Actual Bodily Harm, Possessing an Offensive Weapon. Sentence: 9 months suspended for two years.



ROTHWELL WESLEY KENTISH
Acquitted of Riot, Affray, Possessing an Offensive Weapon.



BARBARA BEESE
Acquitted of Riot, Affray, Assault, Possessing an offensive weapon.



GODFREY MILLETTE
Acquitted of Riot and Affray.



RADFORD LEIGHTON HOWE
Acquitted of Riot and Affray.

The Mangrove Community Association is urgently seeking new premises after the Mangrove restaurant was sold at auction for £277,000. Its owner, Frank Crichtlow, had been forced by the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea to put the restaurant up for sale after defaulting on mortgage repayments.

RECAP

Ever since the Mangrove opened in the late '60s, the police have systematically sought to terminate its activities. Repeated raids led to local demonstrations. After one such demonstration, nine blacks (including Frank Crichtlow) were arrested. Conspiracy charges were brought but, at the

subsequent show trial, all nine were acquitted.

Then, in the early '80s, as the Mangrove's role broadened into a community association, paramilitary squads like the Special Patrol Group were used to saturate Notting Hill, making repeated incursions into the Mangrove. And, when fire-brigade policing methods were adopted from the mid-80s on, one of the first targets of the new Instant Response Units was, you've guessed it, the Mangrove. The effect of all this was to deter customers from using the restaurant. At one point, at least 10 police officers (and more at night) were stationed permanently outside the centre - and

this at a time when the restaurant was trying to re-establish itself after being closed briefly. Solicitor Gareth Peirce told CARF: 'When the police found out that the swamping tactics weren't working, they moved towards a new strategy, targeting the restaurant.' Various methods were adopted. For six months in 1981/2, a police photographer took pictures of everyone using the Mangrove.

The raids carried on, but these were now accompanied by a word in the ear of charities which had expressed an interest in helping the Mangrove's more revolutionary community projects, such as providing sheltered accommodation for the Afro-Caribbean elderly. And letters were written by Chief Superintendent Clive Pearman to the local authority urging them to stop the Mangrove's funding. Armed police from the crack PT18 unit were deployed in Operation Trident (1987) and Vulture (1988), which left Frank Crichtlow charged with 'being in possession of cannabis and heroin with intent to supply and with allowing his premises to be used for the sale of controlled narcotics'. But his trial left the police shamefaced. For although 44 officers testified against him, Frank was acquitted.

'IT'S UP TO THE COMMUNITY'

The police failed to criminalise the man, but they did succeed in crippling his business. For, during the trial, Frank's assets were frozen and the imposition of bail conditions prevented him from visiting the All Saints area. As he was the live-wire behind the Mangrove restaurant, the police effectively destroyed the money-making potential of the Mangrove community association as a whole. The Mangrove Community Association and Frank Crichtlow are now hoping to re-establish the centre at a different site. As Frank Crichtlow told CARF: 'We've made a contribution to the community over the years, now it's up to the community to help us.'

For details of how to help, contact Frank Crichtlow, c/o CARF.

Local authorities and racism: Birmingham

From the day Bina Kumari moved into her Tyseley home with her 5-year-old son, she was the target of racism.

Neighbours racially abused her, broke her windows and demanded that she neither play music nor flush her toilet at night. When Bina's husband and male relatives visited, neighbours would not allow them to park their cars in the street.

Unbeknown to Bina, false complaints were made by the neighbours suggesting that she was running a brothel. When a local housing officer visited and suggested that she had no right to a council home because she was running a brothel, Bina pointed out that she was the victim of a vicious

racist campaign. But the housing official did not want to know.

On 13 July 1990, a group of about 20 neighbours, clapping and chanting racist abuse, attacked Bina. The police were, in fact, already in the vicinity, having been called to an earlier incident. The racist gang virtually invaded Bina's house, yet the police arrested Bina and charged her with assault.

Bina was taken to Acocks Green police station. According to the Bina Kumari Defence Campaign, whilst there, and without being given access to a solicitor, she was interviewed by police and the housing officer (who had mysteriously turned up at the

station). They persuaded Bina to sign away her right to her home in return for an early release.

In November 1990, local people of all communities set up the Bina Kumari Defence Campaign to collect signatures in her support and they demonstrated outside the local housing office. And when Bina's case came up at Warwick Crown Court on 25 February, a mass picket was held outside. The campaign is calling for a full independent inquiry to investigate the housing officer and the racist neighbours.

Further information from BKDC, c/o Birmingham Racial Attacks Monitoring Unit, 339 Dudley Rd, Winson Green, Birmingham. Tel: 021-454 0500.

Local authorities and racism: Newcastle

Over 100 black people in Newcastle are campaigning against the racism of the local council after an attack on the premises of the United Black Youth Association (UBYA) last September.

UBYA has its base at the Murray House Community Centre, in a predominantly white area of the city. And it looks as though local councillors and members of the management committee are determined to get them out.

A white member of the committee, brandishing a pickaxe handle, forced his way in and shouted racial abuse at the group on 30 September last year.

The police did not arrest him, merely telling him to go home. To make matters worse, local authority officers then asked the UBYA to find alternative premises.

UBYA is appalled that the Newcastle council itself will not discuss why the black youths are having their right to Murray House premises questioned. Juned Uddin, chair of UBYA, believes that the council is used to a patron-client relationship where black people are concerned. It is the self-organisation and financial independence of their all-black group which frightens the authorities. As soon as UBYA put

up posters about lobbying the 2 February race equality subcommittee meeting, the meeting was postponed! Now the UBYA feels that the only way to get justice is to organise an independent public inquiry into the attack on them and the wider aspects of racism that the incident has thrown up.

For further details, contact UBYA, c/o Murray House, Diana Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE4 6BT. Tel: 091-273 4912.

CARF welcomes your campaign reports

Reviews

BLACK STRUGGLES FOR SOCIALISM

A. Sivanandan, regarded as the key thinker of the anti-racist movement in the UK, and best known for his path-breaking analysis which linked immigration controls to the economy's need for cheap labour, has published a new collection of essays (written between 1983 and 1990).

In *Communities of Resistance*, he continues to cut through race relations cant with his scathing attacks on anti-racism as practised by local authorities and consultants and the depoliticisation of black struggle by the black middle class and the race professionals. Sivanandan rescues anti-racism from those who interpret it to mean adding black faces to old ways of doing things, imposing quotas, setting out equal opportunity statements or making whites feel guilty. 'The fight against racism', he believes, 'is in the first instance a fight against injustice.'

If the fight against racism is to include a fight for justice, so too has the fight for any liberation - black, Third World, women's - to open itself out to all liberations. 'There is no socialism after liberation,' writes Sivanandan,

'socialism is the process through which liberation is won.'

But the British Left and the Labour Party are unable to reformulate a socialist project because, writes Sivanandan in 'The hokum of "New Times"', unlike Thatcher and the Tory Party - which found policies and ideology to accompany the changes in the economic and technological structures - the Left is rudderless and uncertain. Instead of either harking back to the old union mass struggles which will be no more or looking for middle-class substitutes like 'radical individualism' or 'market socialism', the Left can learn a real, living socialism from the communities of resistance being created in black communities all over the country.

A Sivanandan, *Communities of resistance: writings on black struggles for socialism*, London, Verso, 1990, £10.95 paperback.

BACK TO THE FUTURE

In this briefing paper, the Homeless Families Campaign shows how Tower Hamlets council in east London is discriminating against the homeless and, in particular, homeless Bangladeshis, by:

- cutting back on the number of permanent homes located to the homeless - already half that given by other boroughs;
- forcing Bangladeshis to take the poorer quality housing;
- bypassing Bangladeshis for rehousing;

- reserving housing for the sons and daughters of existing tenants (usually white people).

The Commission for Racial Equality is taking Tower Hamlets Council to court for failure to comply with an instruction over three years ago to stop discriminating.

Tower Hamlets Homeless Families Campaign, *Briefing Paper*, 1990, available from THHFC, Brady Centre, Hambury St., London E1.

FORTRESS EUROPE

The internalisation of immigration controls, the overall project of which is the creation of 'Fortress Europe', is the subject of this new report. Recent immigration control changes in both western Europe and North America means countries in these continents intend to monitor their labour force through even tighter immigration controls.

In the future workers from countries outside these regions will be allowed in only as 'guest workers', on short-term contracts, with all that implies. For some, the single European market will mean the gradual abolition of internal barriers to trade, capital and tourism within Europe. For others - immigrants, migrants and refugees - Europe is increasingly becoming a 'no-go area' as 'Fortress Europe' becomes a grim reality.

Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit, *Imagine there's no countries*. Available from GMIAU, 23 New Mount Street, Manchester. Price £2.50.

Trends

CARF plans to monitor trends in the local press and would welcome readers sending press cuttings to us. Powellism is back - albeit without Powell. The new debate over numbers and immigration control is being directed principally against refugees. In January the *Guardian* (4.1.91) reported that a tougher package to keep refugees out of Britain was being prepared. Ministers justified the tightening up on the grounds that 'a

recent steep increase in the numbers of black asylum-seekers could reawaken the immigration debate and fuel racist sentiment'. So, the presence of black refugees, we are told, creates racism - a theme taken up not only in BNP literature but in the so-called 'quality press'. On 5.1.91 the *Times* reported on a statistical survey carried out for a government publication, *Social Trends*, under the headline 'UK faces doubling of applications for refugee status' and even a small report in the *Guardian* is headlined 'Fear of 10m refugees' (17.1.91). Refugees, too, are to blame for social problems like homelessness. The *Docklands Recorder* (10.1.91) reports on the 'Sky High Outrage: Fury as luxury block is

let to refugees'. Councillor John Snooks is outraged that Kurdish refugees have been moved into 'luxury flats' (flats which are in fact asbestos-ridden) and local councillors blame the refugees for forcing out the 'real' homeless. The *Sun* has the answer to the 'refugee problem'. Following the arrests of some Turkish and Kurdish refugees at a demonstration in Hackney, the *Sun* reports that 'We are just a dust-bin for dissidents' and asks why the demonstration was allowed to go ahead in the first place. Refugees, they say 'must agree to obey British law and respect British tradition' and those arrested at Stoke Newington should be 'served with deportation orders' if found guilty.

Calendar: race & resistance

This calendar of key events does not include references to the numerous Gulf-related racist attacks that occurred during January and February. These are listed on page 5.

FEBRUARY

- 2 Arab detainees in Pentonville prison go on hunger strike.
- 4 NACAB report says black people are discriminated against in the social security system ... Refugee Council says refugees face discrimination in employment.
- 5 Victor Crichlow, former Notting Hill carnival treasurer, found not guilty at Southwark Crown Court of embezzling funds.
- 6 Home Secretary Kenneth Baker revokes deportation orders against four Iraqi and Palestinian detainees, but rejects appeals of another four ... PC William Halliday awarded £1,000 by industrial tribunal for racial harassment.
- 7 Fifth Iraqi detainee released after Home Office accepts he posed no security threat.
- 10 Doubts raised about convictions of the 'Cardiff 3' (see CARF 1) in a major *Observer* expose.
- 11 West Midlands police recruited only 11 Afro-Caribbean officers in 1990.

- 13 Bishops write to Home Office minister John Patten urging amendment in Criminal Justice Bill to outlaw racial discrimination.
- 15 Union of European Football announces new measures to counter racism on the terraces.
- 16 Pan Am bans Arabs from domestic and international flights on grounds of security.
- 18 Rise in citizenship fees announced.
- 19 Bradford foundry worker Mohammed Riaz awarded £2,400 at an industrial tribunal for racial harassment and unfair dismissal
- 20 Report by all-party committee of MPs asks for black-listing powers of the Economic League to be curbed ... No further legislation needed to combat sex and racial discrimination in employment, says government committee ... Four Gulf war detainees released after appeals ... Bexley & Greenwich Campaign Against Fascism lobbies council chambers to protest against increased BNP activity in the area.
- 21 Newham shopkeeper Mr Govindan found not guilty of assaulting police officer at Stratford Magistrates' Court after campaign in his support.
- 22 15-year-old Afro-Caribbean youth, Roland Adams, stabbed to death in Thamesmead.
- 25 Despite attempts to save Notting Hill's Mangrove restaurant, it is sold at auction for £277,000 ... Woolf report on Strangeways and the state of the penal system released.
- 26 PC Halliday sent to trial at Southwark Crown

Court accused of assault ... Two Iraqi detainees freed, leaving 69 Arabs still held without trial.

27 Law Society says the way judges are appointed may contravene Race Relations Act ... Lawyers for Iraqi students held as prisoners of war say that they were detained because of a Ministry of Defence error. The MoD admits its mistake.

MARCH

- 1 Iraqis detained as PoWs announce plans to launch civil damages claims against the Home Office.
- 3 An Iranian who lost a testicle in a police attack is awarded £25,000 without an admission of liability from the police
- 3 Wandsworth council closes Tara Arts, the only Asian theatre company to have its own building.
- 6 Chelsea FC Chairman Ken Bates is ordered before the Football League Commission over allegations that he made racist remarks.
- 8 Baker frees all remaining Gulf war detainees.
- 14 Birmingham 6 freed by Court of Appeal. Home Secretary announces Royal Commission into criminal justice.
- 17 East London AFA picket BNP paper sale in Brick Lane, Tower Hamlets.
- 18 Tottenham 3 anniversary picket outside Tottenham police station.
- 19 Picket of Woolwich police station to protest police treatment of Bhatti family.

Update

SHEFFIELD In September 1989, 66-year-old Mohammed Saleh died from a heart attack shortly after a vicious racist attack on a bus between Sheffield and Rotherham. Now the Sheffield Yemeni community is furious because the charge of manslaughter against the two men involved was withdrawn at Sheffield Crown Court. Dean Kevin Parsons (34) and Christopher John Gadsby (27) were subsequently charged with affray. Parsons was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and Gadsby to two (*Sheffield Star* 27.2.91).

TOWER HAMLETS As we go to press, East London AFA is organising against the BNP paper sale that takes place every Sunday in Brick Lane. The BNP has announced that it will be putting up Steve Smith and Richard Edmunds in the

General Election. Meanwhile, racist attacks on students at Tower Hamlets Further Education College sites at Poplar, Jubilee and Arbour Square have led to the launch of Tower Hamlets Students Against Racism and Fascism, with help from City Poly and NUS London. Students are being encouraged to make contact with black neighbours, particularly on estates like Coventry Cross, where there was an arson attack on the home of a black student activist last November. For further information, contact Hossein at NUS London (071-637 1151) or Kevin at City Poly (071-2471141).

CARDIFF The reliability of evidence submitted by Cardiff police in the Cardiff Three case (see CARF 1) is being questioned after the murder of another woman - the stab wounds were remarkably similar to those found on the body of Lynette White. 3 black men who profess their innocence were convicted of Lynette White's murder. Last month, local magistrate Elvin Blades was barred from visiting one of the Cardiff Three in prison (*Caribbean Times* 29.1.91.)

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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- ☐ We wish to become a CARF supporting organisation and enclose £50 for one year's subscription of 10 copies per issue.*
- ☐ I wish to become a CARF supporter and make a regular donation to CARF. Please send me a bankers order form.
- ☐ I enclose £..... donation to CARF.*
- (*All cheques payable to CARF)

Name _____

Address _____

Please return to: CARF, BM Box 8784, London WC1N 3XX.